

Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium

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As a primary source, Byzantine monumental decoration has much to reveal about the devotional practices of medieval women. The careful analysis of painted churches suggests that specific saints could be included within a decorative program in order to accommodate women's devotional needs and gendered ritual practices. To further the discussion of such issues, I have assembled a corpus of more than seventy Byzantine churches that survive in modern-day Greece (see Appendix). The churches, which date from the eleventh through fifteenth century, served a variety of constituencies from monks to lay people, from city dwellers to the poorest inhabitants of the Byzantine countryside. The first order of business is dividing the churches into their functional types in order to see where images of female saints were painted and what their identity and location might reveal about patterns of female worship. One basic question is that of where women stood during services. In the past, scholars suggested that female saints were painted in the narthex because women stood outside the naos during the liturgy.¹ I argue that this view of female segregation, whether in paint or in flesh, cannot be supported. Artistic and written evidence confirm that, in churches other than those of male monasteries, women stood in the naos. Furthermore, I propose that the clustering of portraits of holy women in specific areas of the church, whether in nartheces or in smaller chapels, corresponds to extraliturgical rituals that were of particular import to Byzantine women. The evidence demonstrates that for women in the medieval East images of female saints served as visual counterparts, as personal intercessors, and as potential surrogates.

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¹The mistaken notion that women were confined to the narthex during the liturgy has been used by some art historians to interpret the "function" of female saints in that ecclesiastical space. See, for example, J. B. Wainewright, *The Byzantine Office* (London, 1909), 14; A. K. Orlandos, "Οἱ Ἅγιοι Ἀνδράγυροι," *Αρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.Ελλ.* 4 (1938), 26; and K. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria, 1982), 47, 53.

MONASTIC AND METROPOLITAN CHURCHES

Hundreds of Byzantine churches contain their original frescoes or mosaics. Identifying the congregation that originally viewed the church interior and understanding the ritual it followed are important keys to decoding the complex messages offered by the decorative program. Byzantine churches can be divided into categories that correspond to the population they served: monastic, metropolitan (episcopal), parish, family, and burial. Female saints are rarely found within the monumental programs of male monasteries. This artistic fact reflected institutional regulations. Byzantine *typika* strictly prohibited the entry of women into male monasteries except in special circumstances. Visiting a relative's grave, commemorating an important feast day, or making a pilgrimage to a shrine were all religious obligations that enabled women to enter the monastic precinct.² The inclusion of portraits of female saints in monastic *katholika* signals the occasional presence of women in such institutions. For example, the representation of female saints on the west wall of the narthex program at the cult center of Hosios Loukas in Phokis (Fig. 1) reflects the admission of women pilgrims into the monastery, where they sought healing from Luke's relics, a practice that is confirmed by the Life of the saint.³ The program of Hosios Loukas, however, is unusual. *Katholika* of the documented male monasteries that preserve their complete decorative programs, such as Nea Moni on Chios or Holy Apostles in Thessalonike, contain no images of female saints in their sanctoral cycles.⁴ Images of monastic saints, fighters of heresy, and church authors were undoubtedly considered more appropriate for a male audience. The presence of female saints would have been improper and perhaps even distracting.⁵ A document of May 1341, recording the conversion of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Maroules from female

²See A.-M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *GOTR* 30.1 (1985), 13–14, and her article in this volume.

³On the tympanum over the south window of the west wall are full-length portraits of Constantine and Helena and medallions containing half-length portraits of Thekla, Agatha, Anastasia, Febronia, and Eugenia. Full-length representations of Eirene, Catherine, and Barbara, and medallions with Euphemia, Marina, and Juliana are located over the north window. See R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis, and the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, near Skripou, in Boeotia* (London, 1901), 49–50, pls. 36, 37. The monastic author of the *Life of Hosios Loukas* describes the healing of several women who came to venerate the relics of the saint. One old woman of Boeotia, for example, "went to the monastery of the saint, entered the sacred precinct and prostrated herself at the holy tomb," in *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Stiris*, trans. C. L. Connor and W. R. Connor (Brookline, Mass., 1994), 121.

⁴A medallion of Anna is paired with that of her husband, Joachim, in the inner narthex of the *katholikon* of Nea Moni. See D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios* (Athens, 1985), 70, pls. 67, 69, 213, 215. One notable exception to the absence of female saints in the *katholika* of male monasteries is the 14th-century church of the Anastasis of Christ in Veroia where images of Catherine and Eirene are located at the west end of the north wall. The painting of the church, however, was completed under the patronage of a woman, Euphrosyne, the wife of Xenos Psalidas. Moreover, women were buried outside the church and are the subjects of intercessory images adjacent to their tombs. The decoration of one blind arch, dated 1326, represents the Virgin presenting the deceased, Mary Synadene, to Christ. See G. Gounaris, *The Church of Christ in Veria* (Thessalonike, 1991), 42, 46, pls. 41, 48; S. Pelekanides, Καλλιέργης, ὅλης Θεσσαλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος (Athens, 1973), 87–90, pl. 81.

⁵In her discussion of the donor and patron in Byzantine art, Maria Panayotidi notes that the absence of images of female saints from the Enkleistra and bema of St. Neophytos, near Paphos, Cyprus, may be linked to the "personality and views of the patron, since it is known that he had not only banned women from visiting the monastery, but had also banned all female animals." M. Panayotidi, "The Question of the Role of the Donor and of the Painter: A Rudimentary Approach," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.17 (1993–94), 154.

to male, provides evidence for the intentional gendering of church decoration within a cloistered context. When the nuns were replaced by monks, the decoration of the refectory underwent a similar sex change: images of female saints were covered by those of holy men.⁶

Although little is known about the monumental programs of female monasteries, they were presumably decorated in a manner that reflected a female population. The church of the Virgin Blachernitissa near Arta was converted from a male monastery to a nunnery sometime before 1230.⁷ The narthex paintings, dated to the end of the century, may reflect the use of the church by women.⁸ The analysis of one representation on the west wall of the narthex suggests how fruitful the investigation of the Blachernitissa frescoes might be. The unique historical scene depicts an event that took place on Tuesdays in distant Constantinople—the procession of the Hodegetria icon.⁹ Pilgrims' accounts refer to the diverse crowd of onlookers that witnessed the weekly procession.¹⁰ The painter of the Arta representation has filled the foreground of the composition with women. Female pilgrims flank the icon along with the members of the icon-carriers guild, while male onlookers are relegated to the back of the crowd. Myrtali Potamianou has suggested that three of the women depicted in the foreground were members or relatives of the ruling family of Epiros.¹¹ Their inclusion, and the artistic emphasis on female attendance at the Constantinopolitan procession, would have resonated loudly with the Blachernitissa's nuns, who could, by visual association, undertake their own symbolic pilgrimage to the capital in order to venerate the all-holy icon.

While monastic programs have been the focus of intensive art-historical scrutiny, the decoration of metropolitan churches has received somewhat less attention. These churches, often constructed in basilican form even in medieval Byzantium, accommodated large numbers of worshipers. Considering the diverse population that attended services at these churches, it should come as no surprise that images of female saints

⁶According to the text, ἡ ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ ἱστορία ὁσίας εἶχε τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγραμμένης γυναικάς, μετεποίησε δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ὁ πρωτοῦερακάριος ὕστερον εἰς ὁσίους. *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, ed. H. Hunger, II (Vienna, 1995), 278. I thank Alice-Mary Talbot for the reference to artistic changes in the monastery, which is cited in her work, "A Comparison," 8. On the location of the monastery, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, III (Paris, 1969), 196.

⁷See A.-M. Talbot, "Affirmative Action in the 13th Century: An Act of John Apokaukos concerning the Blachernitissa Monastery in Arta," in *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, ed. C. N. Constantinides et al. (Venice, 1997), 399–409.

⁸The decoration of the naos, including scenes from the life of Christ and figures of male saints, has been dated to the mid-13th century, the period in which the gender of the population changed. See M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, "The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlacherna Monastery (area of Arta)," *Actes du XV^e Congrès international des Études byzantines*, IIa (Athens, 1981), 1–14; eadem, "Η ζωγραφική της Άρτας στο 13^ο αιώνα και η Μονή της Βλαχέρνας," in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Άρτα, 27–31 Μαΐου 1990)*, ed. E. Chrysos (Arta, 1992), 185, figs. 11–13.

⁹M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, "The Basilissa Anna Palaiologina of Arta and the Monastery of Vlacherna," in *Women and Byzantine Monasticism (Actes du Symposium d'Athènes, 1988)*, ed. J. Y. Perreault (Athens, 1991), 43–49.

¹⁰In the 15th century, for example, Pero Tafur remarks that "there is a market in the square on that day, and a great crowd assembles." *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures, 1435–1439*, trans. M. Letts (London, 1926), 142.

¹¹Potamianou identifies Anna Palaiologina as one of the three noble women, rendered in larger scale and in richer attire, in the left foreground of the scene of the procession of the Hodegetria icon. See Acheimastou-Potamianou, "The Basilissa Anna Palaiologina," 43–49.

form a regular part of their decorative programs. The longitudinal shape of metropolitan churches may have facilitated the division of the mixed congregation into two segments, women and men, who occupied the northern and southern halves of the church respectively. In preserved programs of metropolitan churches, female saints are located on the north (left) side of the church: on the north wall, in the vault of the north aisle, or on the north side of the western entrance. In Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, for example, two female monastic saints are found in the soffits of the northwest entrance to the narthex (Fig. 2).¹² The entrance to the north aisle of Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, was decorated with images of Theodora of Alexandria and an unidentified holy woman.¹³ In the Old Metropolis in Veroia and St. Demetrios, the episcopal church of Servia, portraits of female saints are located on the north pier of the *tribelon*.¹⁴ In the south of Greece, half-length female saints, including St. Eudokia (the Samaritan?), decorate the north aisle of St. Demetrios, the metropolitan church of Mystra;¹⁵ and three female saints were once found on the north wall of the cathedral of Athens, the Parthenon.¹⁶ In these metropolitan churches, the female saints are depicted either as guardians of the north entranceways to the church or as framed portraits in the north aisle. The placement of female saints on the north side of the church conforms to a devotional tradition already well documented in Constantinople, where, from the early Byzantine period, women stood in the north aisle of Hagia Sophia and other churches.¹⁷ The twelfth-century *Timarion*, a satirical account of a journey to Thessalonike for the feast of St. Demetrios, provides evidence for the location of women on the left side of basilican churches, even in the medieval period. Describing the celebration of the saint's feast in the basilica of Hagios Demetrios, the text states: "Then from those who had specially practiced the rituals of the festival—what a congregation they had there—there was heard a most divine psalmody, most gracefully varied in its rhythm, order, and artistic alternations. For it was not only men who were singing; *the holy nuns in the left wing of the church, divided into two antipho-*

¹²Skawran, *The Development*, fig. 103.

¹³N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Καστοριάς 9ος–11ος αἰώνας* (Thessalonike, 1992), 300–302.

¹⁴In Veroia, St. Barbara is located on the south face of the pier. St. Kyriake and an unidentified female saint occupy the east face. A portrait of St. Jerusalem, a local Veroian female saint, decorated the east face of the second pier from the west in the northern arcade. These representations are dated to the early 13th century. See Th. Papazotos, *Ἡ Βέροια καὶ οἱ ναοὶ τῆς* (Athens, 1994), 167–68; idem, "Ἀγιολογικὰ-εἰκονογραφικὰ ἀγίων Βέροιας," *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 44–46.1 (1989–91), 153–57. In St. Demetrios, Servia, St. Paraskeve is adjacent to a composition of Cosmas and Damian flanking their mother, Theodote. Andreas Xyngopoulos also identified a portrait of St. Barbara. The frescoes have been dated to the late 12th century. See A. Xyngopoulos, *Τὰ Μνημεῖα τῶν Σερβίων* (Thessalonike, 1957), 29–75.

¹⁵Personal observations made at the church. Only the inscription accompanying Eudokia could be read. For the history of the church, see S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970), 5–8; M. Chatzidakis, "Νεώτερα γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴν τέχνη τῆς Μητροπόλεως τοῦ Μυστρά," *Δελτ.-Χρυστ.Ἀρχ.* Et. 4.9 (1977–79), 143–75, pls. 51b, 59. Three additional portraits of female saints adjacent to the *diakonikon* may belong to a later painted layer. See G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pl. 86.

¹⁶A. Xyngopoulos, "Παρθενῶνος βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία," *Ἀρχ.Ἐφ.* (1920), 36–51, figs. 11, 13.

¹⁷T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa., 1971), 130–34. The 10th-century *Book of Ceremonies* makes reference to women on the north side of Holy Apostles and the Chalkoprateia church. See Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, I (Paris, 1935–40), 24–25, 155. See also the article by Robert F. Taft in this volume.



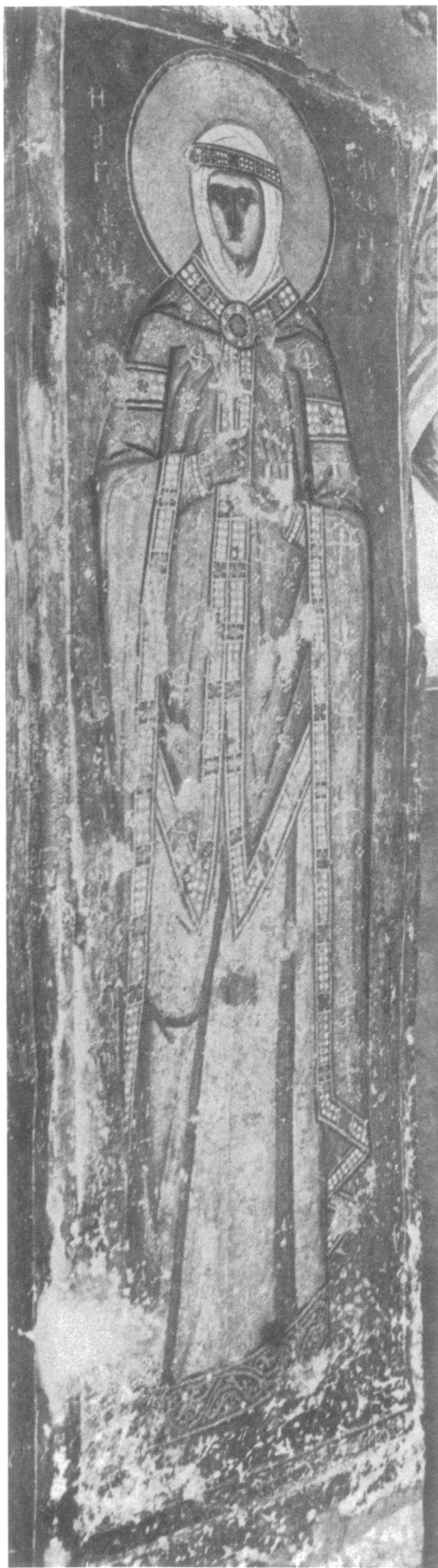
1 Hosios Loukas, Phokis, narthex, female saints (photo: Josephine Powell)



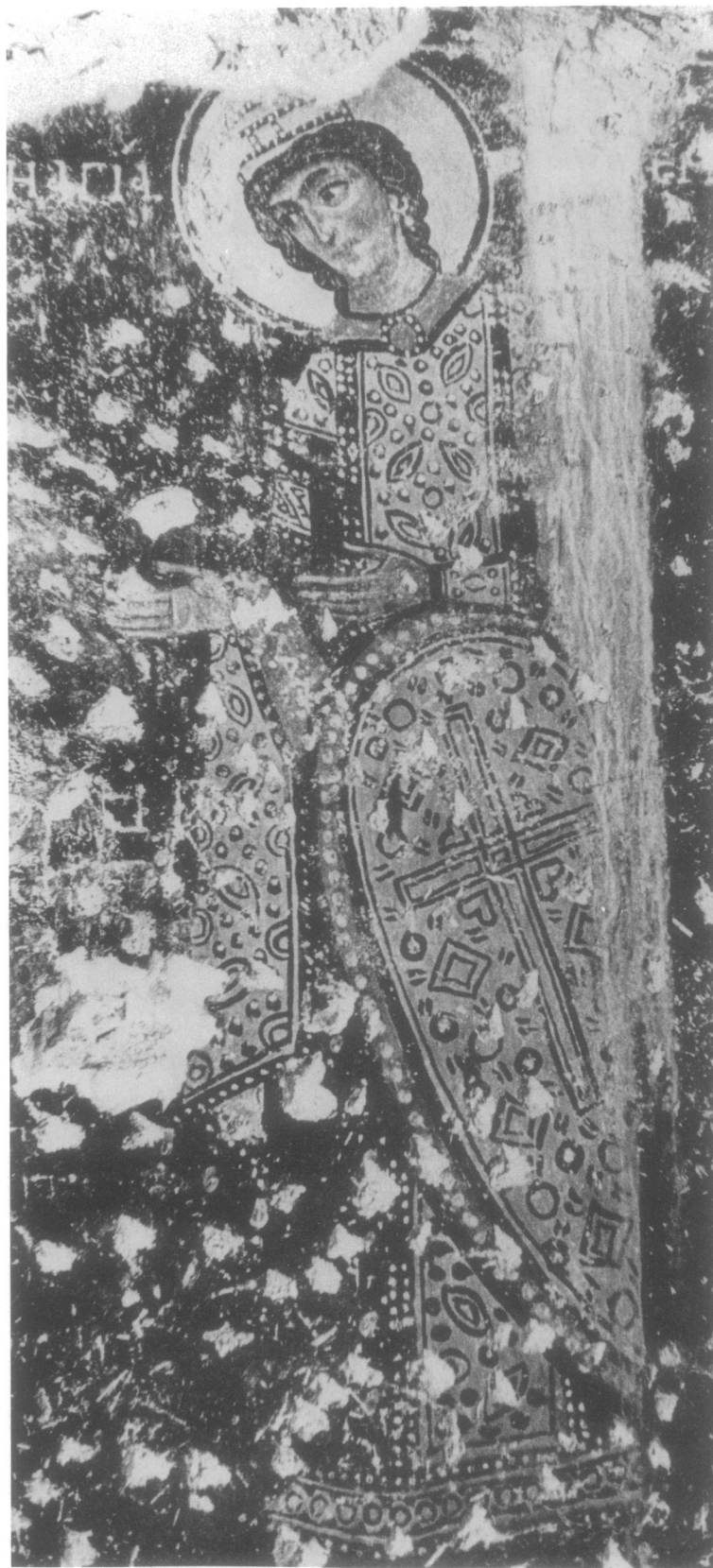
2 Hagia Sophia, Thessalonike, narthex, unidentified female saint



3 Transfiguration, Pyrgi, Euboia, St. Kalliope (photo: after Georgopoulou-Berra, "Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 13ου αἰώνα στήν Εὐβοία," pl. 14)



4 Omorphi Ekklesia, Athens, St. Glykeria (photo: after Vasilake-Karakatsane, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς*, pl. 18b)



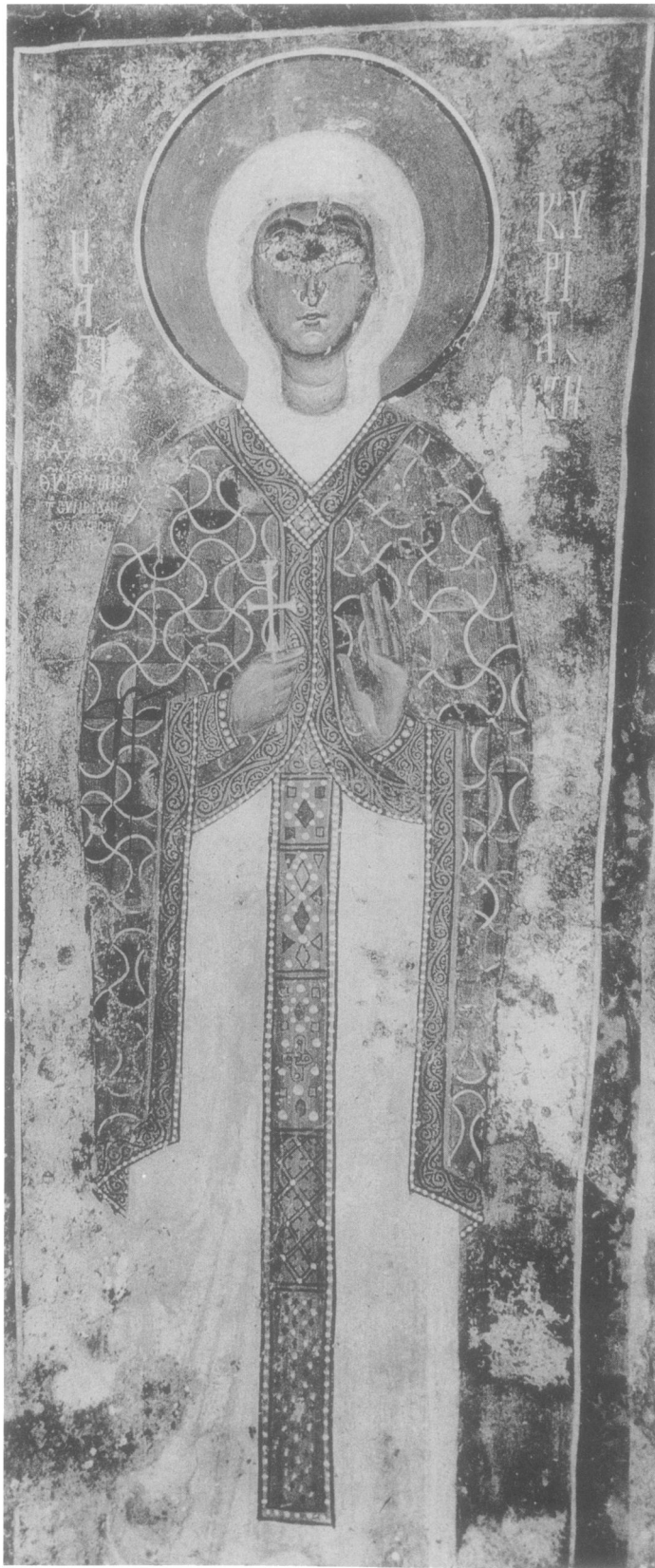
5 Penteli Caves, Attica, St. Catherine (photo: after Mouriki, *“Οἱ βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες,”* pl. 28)



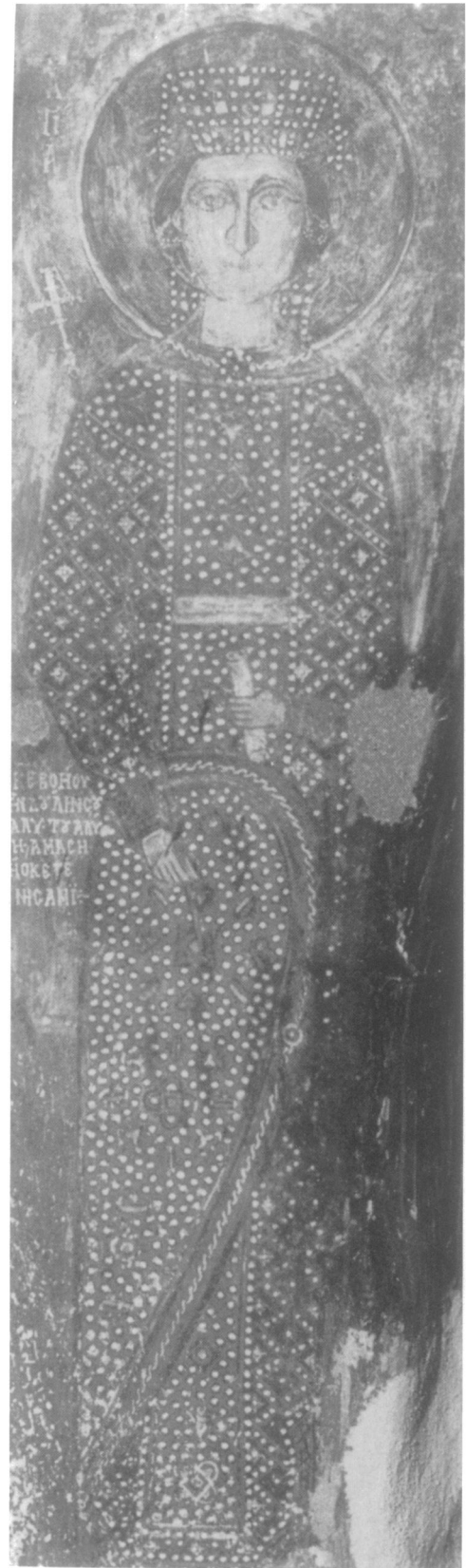
6 St. John Chrysostom, Geraki, north wall, Sts. Helena, Catherine, and Barbara



7 Hagios Strategos, Upper Boularioi, Mani, nave, St. Polychronia



8 St. Panteleimon, Upper Boularioi, Mani, St. Kyriake (photo: after Drandakes, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες*, 390, fig. 27)



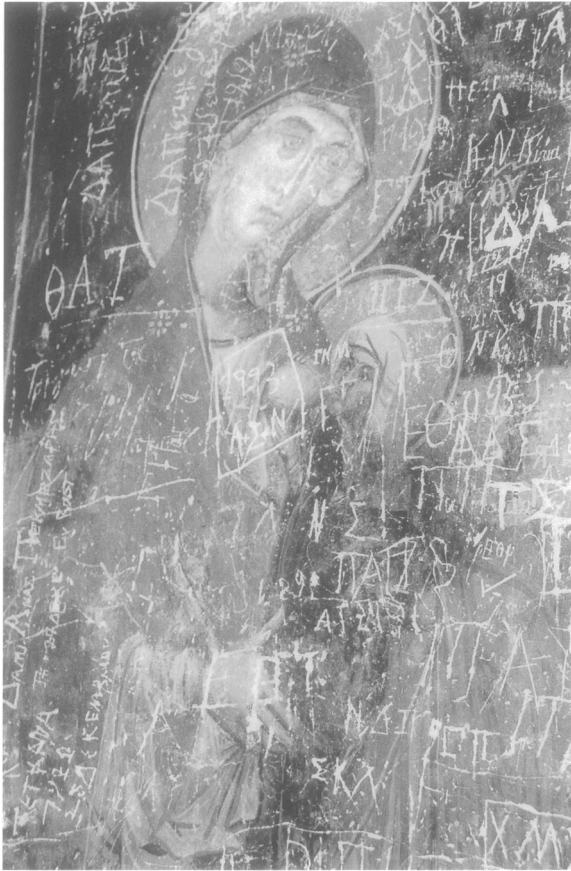
9 St. John, Zoupenas, Lakonia, St. Catherine (photo: after Drandakes, "*Ο σπηλαιώδης ναός τοῦ Ἀϊ-Γιαννάκη*," 90, fig. 22)



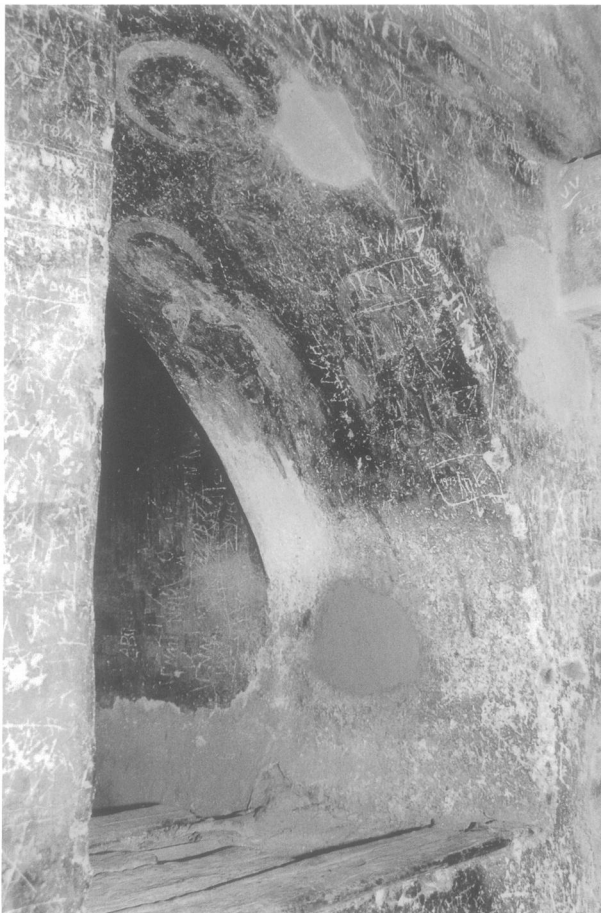
10 Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, Chapel of St. Anna



11 Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, Chapel of St. Anna, Anna and infant Mary



12 Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, Chapel of
St. Anna, Anna Galaktotrophousa



13 Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, Chapel of
St. Anna, female saint flanked by her
two children



14 Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria,
narthex, Anna and infant
Mary



15 Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike,
north aisle, Anna and infant Mary



16 Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria,
view into narthex



17 Hagios Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, Kastoria, narthex, Sts. Juliane, Barbara, and Marina



18 Hagios Strategos, Upper Boularioi,
Mani, narthex tomb



19 Episcopi, Mani, narthex, Last Judgment and unidentified female saints (photo: after Drandakes, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες*, 205, fig. 53)



20 Koimesis, Oxyolithos, Euboia, Anna and infant Mary, St. Paraskeve (photo: after Emmanouel, *Oi τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, pl. 77)

nal choirs, also offered up the Holy of Holies to the martyr.”¹⁸ The placement of images of female saints on the north side of metropolitan churches thus corresponded to the use of that space by female congregants, a practice continued by modern Orthodox women who claim the northern half of the church.

PARISH CHURCHES, FAMILY CHURCHES, BURIAL CHURCHES

Parish, family, and burial churches were the focus of worship and ceremony for both men and women. Female worshippers brought to these monuments a set of concerns that were reflected in the painted decoration. In addition to the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy, these churches accommodated family rituals related to birth, baptism, purification, engagement and marriage, sickness and healing, death and the commemoration of the deceased. These rituals unfolded in designated spaces that sustained decoration with scenes and motifs appropriate to the event and its participants. Images of female saints are found throughout small churches, both as intercessory figures for women and their families and as delimiters of female space and female ritual.

Like their male counterparts, female patrons endeavored to place images of their holy intercessors as close to the sanctuary as possible. The extraordinary insertion of a monumental image of St. Kalliope into the sanctuary program of the thirteenth-century church of the Transfiguration in Pyrgi, Euboia, can be directly linked to the patronage of Kale Meledone, who is mentioned as the primary donor in a preserved inscription (Fig. 3).¹⁹ The same connection between a female patron and the placement of a portrait of a female saint has been seen as the reason for the unorthodox placement of St. Catherine in a supplicatory pose on the masonry templon of the north burial church of the Penteli Caves in Attica (Fig. 5).²⁰ St. Glykeria's representation in the *diakonikon* of Omorphi Ekklesia in Athens may also have been dictated by a female patron (Fig. 4).²¹ These female saints stand in places ordinarily reserved for holy bishops or church authors. Their presence within the sanctuary precinct raises important questions about potential female influence on the decorative program of provincial Byzantine churches.²² We

¹⁸Τότε γοῦν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν μᾶλλον ἡκριβωμένων—οἷα τούτους σχόντων τοὺς θεωρούς—, ψαλμωδία θειοτέρα τις ἐξηκούετο, ῥυθμῶ καὶ τάξει καὶ ἀμοιβῇ ἐντέχνῳ ποικιλλομένη πρὸς τὸ χαριέστερον, ἣν δὲ οὐκ ἀνδρῶν μόνον ὕμνος ἀναπεμπόμενος, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ γυναικες ὅσαι καὶ μονάζουσαι περὶ τὸ περὶ γύγιον εὐώνυμά που τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δύο χοροὺς ἀντιφώνους διαιρεθεῖσαι καὶ αὐταὶ τὸ ὅσιον ἀπεδίδουν τῷ μάρτυρι. *Timarion*, trans. B. Baldwin (Detroit, 1984), 48–49. The Greek text is edited by R. Romano, *Timarione: Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico* (Naples, 1974), 59. This text must refer to the widened eastern end of the north aisle adjacent to the sanctuary.

¹⁹According to the donor's inscription, the church was the family commission of Kale, her son, and his family: Ἀνηγέρθη ὁ θεῖος ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ Κ(υρίου) Σ(ωτήρος) Θ(εοῦ) διὰ συνδρομῆς ἐξόδων τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) Καλῆς τῆς Μεληδόνης καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς Γεωργίου ἱερέως ἅμα συμβίοις καὶ τέκνοις αὐτῶν. M. Georgopoulou-Berra, “Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 13ου αἰῶνα στὴν Εὐβοία: Ὁ Σωτήρας στό Πυργί καὶ ἡ Ἁγία Θέκλα,” Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 32.1 (1977), 10, 14–15, pl. 14b. In the 15th-century Maniate church of St. Nicholas in Briki, St. Kallinike is located on the east wall adjacent to the sanctuary opening. See N. Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες τῆς Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens, 1995), 113.

²⁰D. Mouriki, “Οἱ βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες τῶν παρεκκλησιῶν τῆς Σπηλιᾶς τῆς Πεντέλης,” Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. 4.7 (1973–74), 99, pls. 28, 29.

²¹A. Vasilake-Karakatsane, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς στὴν Ἀθήνα* (Athens, 1971), 15, pl. 18b.

²²The location of these churches in areas that were under Latin influence raises the question of whether the placement of images of female saints in the sanctuary was misunderstood as a reflection of actual women

might compare these painted images with donors' inscriptions on liturgical scrolls. These inscriptions, often including female names, were intended to be read in the sanctuary at certain moments of the liturgy, effectively allowing women access to the altar through their written invocations.

Parish and other nonmetropolitan churches, serviced by priests who were entitled to marry, contained decorative programs that facilitated the devotional needs of entire families, not just monks or bishops. Their painted programs responded to the needs of their congregations. Images of female saints are found primarily in the naos, and their location and the manner of their representation (in medallions or as full-length figures) often reflect regional traditions. For example, in Lakonian churches of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, medallions of half-length female saints often run the length of the naos walls.²³ In St. John Chrysostom in Geraki, an early-fourteenth-century single-aisled church, ten medallions of female saints decorate the north wall in a band below the narrative cycle and above portraits of full-length male saints (Fig. 6).²⁴ The holy women, differentiated only by wardrobe and headdress, were arranged in sets according to the reasons for their sainthood: royal saints, martyrs, holy mothers, and healers form distinct typological clusters.²⁵ The program of the church of St. George in the same village also contains female saints in medallions, but in this small basilica they are located on the south side of the central nave.²⁶ The ambivalence over the location of the female saints in these churches may reflect the mixing of the congregation within the body of the church. In the seventeenth century, Leo Allatios described the architectural configuration of rural churches and the place occupied by their congregations in the following manner: "In rural churches, often quite small and scattered here and there among the fields, there is no difference between choir and narthex. Rather everyone, both men and women, is enclosed in one little place."²⁷ Surviving evidence indicates that the Byzantine countryside was full of small, single-aisled churches without nartheces. These structures were vaulted on the interior, and only the sanctuary was divided from the naos by a barrier.

In village churches, whether for a parish or for an extended family, the naos was a space shared by women and men. In addition to medallions of female saints, full-length

entering that space. For the accusations of Constantine Stilbes regarding the alleged western practice of permitting women to enter the sanctuary, see J. Darrouzès, "Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins," *REB* 21 (1963), 51–100. For an analysis of the portion of this text concerning women in the sanctuary, see H. Maguire, "Abaton and Oikonomia: St. Neophytos and the Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin," in a forthcoming volume on Byzantine Cyprus in memory of Doula Mouriki.

²³ Four medallions of female saints, including Sts. Barbara and Kyriake, are located on the north wall of St. George at Phoutia (V. Kepetzi, "Ο ναός του Ἁγίου Γεωργίου στά Φούτια τῆς Ἐπιδάουρου Λιμηράς," in *ANTIΦΩΝΟΝ*: Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Ν. Β. Δρανδάκη [Thessalonike, 1994], 508–30). In the early 13th-century church of St. Peter Gardenitsa in the Mani, medallions of Kyriake, Kalliste, and Eirene are found at the west end of the north wall (Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 296–98, fig. 41).

²⁴ N. K. Moutsopoulos and G. Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι. Οἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ* (Thessalonike, 1981), 11, figs. 23–33. The only female saint on the south wall of the church is Theodote, who, as the mother of Cosmas and Damian, is placed between her two sons.

²⁵ For the representation of holy mothers and their children, see L. Drewer, "Saints and Their Families in Byzantine Art," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.16 (1991–92), 259–70.

²⁶ Personal observation of the frescoes.

²⁷ L. Allatios, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks*, trans. A. Cutler (University Park, Pa., 1969), 31.

images of holy women also shared the naos, standing on the north, south, and west walls. In a group of Lakonian churches, including the Virgin Chrysaphitissa in Chrysapha and Hagios Strategos in Upper Boularioi, Mani, full-length female saints were located in the western compartments of the nave (Fig. 7).²⁸ In St. Nicholas, Agoriane, holy women are found on the north wall, but they occupy the south wall in the churches of St. George Bardas on the island of Rhodes and Hagia Triada near Kranidi in the Argolid.²⁹ The painted evidence suggests that women occupied the central naos of the church along with men and, further, that images of female saints were located in this area as personal intercessors for the faithful and as painted components of the kingdom of heaven so palely reflected on earth in a population comprised of two sexes.

Scholars of western medieval art who have analyzed manuscript and monumental programs that include portraits of female saints have urged caution about using such images as evidence for conclusions about female piety and female space.³⁰ For Byzantium, however, we can be more confident about using monumental decoration as a primary source for the space women occupied in the church. The evidence offered by the painted portraits of female saints is confirmed by written sources. Moreover, donors' inscriptions and votive prayers painted adjacent to specific saints reveal a close connection between women and their female name saints. In the East, women sought access to their name saints through the inclusion of their images in the church program. In many churches there is a correspondence between the names of women mentioned in donors' inscriptions and the selection of specific female saints for the decorative programs sponsored by their families.³¹ For instance, St. Charitene, a rarely depicted fourth-century martyr, was portrayed in the program of the fourteenth-century Maniate church of St. Nicholas in Platsa. Her presence is explained by the inscription in the apse of the south aisle that records the donors as the priest Michael and his wife, Charitene.³² St. Eirene is

²⁸ See N. Drandakes, "Παναγία ἡ Χρυσοφίτισσα (1290)," in Πρακτικά Α' τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Λακωνικῶν Μελετῶν (Athens, 1983), 337–403; idem, Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες, 392–466.

²⁹ M. Emmanouel, "Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου στὴν Ἀγόριανη Λακωνίας," Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ. 4.14 (1987–88), fig. 37; A. K. Orlandos, "Ἅγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Βάρδας," Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.Ἑλλ. 6 (1948), 134, figs. 114–16; S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis (1244)* (Munich, 1975), pls. 25, 26.

³⁰ For the hazards of linking female images to female piety, see C. W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1982), 172–73. See also P. Sheingorn's review of J. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven, Conn.-London, 1990), in *ArtB* 74 (1992), 679–81; C. Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and Their Audience," *DOP* 50 (1996), 313–32.

³¹ For 13th-century inscriptions, see S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992). See also A. and J. Stylianos, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *JÖBG* 9 (1960), 97–128. In a study of peasant names in Macedonia, Angeliki Laiou noted that "names may show folk adherence to a patron saint of the district, and they tell us how strictly the population adhered to the Christian calendar." See A. Laiou, "Peasant Names in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," *BMGS* 1 (1975), 72.

³² D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens, 1975), 17, 51. The poorly spelled inscription in the south apse reads: Μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Σκαρζιότου καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ [---]· μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Μηχαὶλ ἱερέος τοῦ ἡκονόμου καὶ τῆς σηνβίου αὐτοῦ Χαριτίνης [Ἰστορήθη ὡ]σαύτως τὸ ἅγιον βύμα. The inscription is followed by the year, 1343/4. For an analysis of the inscription, see D. Feissel and A. Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, III: Inscriptions du Péloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra)," *TM* 9 (1985), 333, pl. xx, 3–4.

one of two female saints included in the program of St. Demetrios in Makrochori, Euboia, where she stands adjacent to the Archangel Michael. An inscription in that church refers to the donors Michael Tamesa and his wife, Eirene.³³ A second kind of epigraphical evidence comes from votive prayers painted adjacent to the portrait of the name saint. In the thirteenth century, for example, the framed image of St. Kyriake was added to the late-tenth-century program of the Maniate church of St. Panteleimon in Upper Boularioi (Fig. 8). The inscription adjacent to the saint's right shoulder reads: "*Deesis* of the servant of God, Kyriake, and of her husband, Nicholas Orphanos. Amen."³⁴ In the cave church of St. John in Zoupenas, Lakonia, a woman named Kale had her name inscribed, along with that of her husband and child, adjacent to the representation of Catherine, who may have been her name saint (Fig. 9).³⁵ Clearly, these holy female figures constituted especially effective intercessors for women, and their inclusion in the church program demonstrates that women had a voice in demanding images suitable for female piety.

WOMEN'S RITUAL, WOMEN'S SPACE: A WOMEN'S ORATORY AND FEMALE DEVOTION TO ANNA

Important evidence for female devotional practices emerges from the examination of numerous churches that include images of holy women. After collecting the evidence, however, can we go a step further to suggest that certain spaces were used for rituals that might be deemed "female"? Historical and hagiographical sources suggest that infertility and infant mortality were important concerns to medieval women. Painted evidence seems to indicate that the church program could facilitate, through the inclusion of specific saints, devotional practices aimed at curing infertility and maintaining the health of at-risk children. Hagios Stephanos, the metropolitan church of Kastoria, contains a separate chapel filled with painted images of maternity. Its early layers of painted decoration, dated to the tenth and twelfth centuries, include female saints in the north entrance to the nave.³⁶ A steep, narrow staircase leads from the narthex to a chamber that overlooked the nave through an arched window divided into two openings by a narrow pier (Fig. 10). At the far end of the chamber, a modified iconostasis screens a small sanctuary, with altar and prothesis niches built into the east wall. From the decorative program, which is dated to the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds, it is clear that the chamber was dedicated to Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary.³⁷ Anna appears three times within the decoration of the chamber. Her full-length figure holding the infant Mary in her left arm fills the

³³ M. Emmanouel, *Oi τοιχογραφίες του Ἁγίου Δημητρίου στὸ Μακρυχώρι καὶ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου στὸν Ὁξύλιθο τῆς Εὐβοίας* (Athens, 1991), 31, pls. 2, 32, 34.

³⁴ Δέ(ησις) τ(ῆς) δούλ(ης) τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ Κυριακῆς τ(ῆς) συνβίου Νικολάου τοῦ ορφανοῦ Ἀμ(ήν). N. Drandakes, "Ἅγιος Παντελεήμων Μπουλαριῶν," *Ἐπ. Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 37 (1969–70), figs. 19, 20; idem, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 390–91, figs. 27, 28.

³⁵ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τὴν δούλῃ σου καλὺ του Ἀλύπη· αμα σηβήο κέ τέκνης αμί. N. Drandakes, "Ὁ σπηλαιώδης ναός τοῦ Ἀἰ-Γιαννάκη στή Ζούπενα," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.13 (1985–86), 82, 90, fig. 22.

³⁶ See Moutsopoulos, *Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Καστορίας*, 203–5.

³⁷ For a discussion of this chamber, see A. K. Orlandos, "Ὁ Ἅγ. Στέφανος," *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.Ἑλλ.* 4 (1938), 109, 122–24. Orlandos dates the frescoes to the 14th century. Images from this chamber can be found in S. Pelekanides, *Καστορία, I* (Thessalonike, 1953), pls. 101a, b, where the frescoes are dated to the 13th century.

niche over the altar within the chapel (Fig. 11). Framed images of Anna are also located on the sides of the pier dividing the central window. Painted on the south side, Anna holds the infant Mary in her right arm. The north side is occupied by an image of Anna Galaktotrophousa (Fig. 12).³⁸ These multiple images of maternity are supplemented by two panels. The subjects of the first panel, damaged by incised graffiti, have been identified as Kyrikos and Julitta (Fig. 13). Closer inspection, however, reveals a second child in front of his mother, indicating that the panel depicted a female saint with two children, perhaps Theodote with her sons Cosmas and Damian, or St. Jerusalem, a local saint from Veroia, with her sons, Sekendon and Sekendikon.³⁹ The subjects of the second panel have been identified as Sergios and Bacchos, but could equally be Cosmas and Damian. On the east wall of the chamber, above the window onto the nave, is a row of five half-length martyr saints, perhaps female.

Images of Anna holding the infant Mary commonly occur in the decorative programs of Byzantine churches, often framed as separate devotional images.⁴⁰ In Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria, for example, an image of Anna holding the infant Mary is placed on the east wall of the narthex (Fig. 14).⁴¹ The individual framing of the figure in imitation of a large-scale icon suggests that this image was a focus of special devotion. Similarly, a monumental image of Anna holding the infant Mary is located in the north aisle of the church of Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike (Fig. 15).⁴² Here the saint stands next to an image of the Virgin Paraklesis, who holds an open scroll inscribed: "O, only begotten child, accept the entreaty of your mother." These two female figures and those of the royal saints Eirene and Catherine adjacent to them are crowned by scenes from the

³⁸According to the *Protoevangelium* of St. James, "And when the days were fulfilled, Anna purified herself from her childbed and gave suck to the child, and called her Mary." See also A. Cutler, "The Cult of the Galaktotrophousa in Byzantium and Italy," *JÖB* 37 (1987), 335–50.

³⁹According to legend, St. Jerusalem and her sons were martyred in Veroia in the 3rd century. The center of her cult was in Veroia, but her depiction with her two sons in the narthex of Hagioi Anargyroi indicates that her cult had spread to neighboring Kastoria. For the life of St. Jerusalem, see G. Chionides, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βεροίας*, I (Veroia, 1960), 185–89.

⁴⁰In Greece, images of Anna with the infant Mary are found in the late-10th/early-11th-century church of the Transfiguration near Koropi, Attica (M. Chatzidakis, "Medieval Painting in Greece," *Connoisseur* 603 [May 1962], 29–34); the church of the Transfiguration (dated 1296) in Pyrgi, Euboia (Georgopoulou-Berra, "Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 13ου αἰῶνα στήν Εὐβοία," 9–38, pls. 7, 14); the 13th-century church of St. John the Theologian near Kranidi in the Argolid (N. Panselinou, "Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ 13ου αἰῶνα στήν Ἀργολίδα· Ὁ ναός τῶν Ταξιαρχῶν καί ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.16 [1991–92], 161–62, figs. 9, 10); the church of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos (ca. 1262–85) near Kitta, Mani (N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panagiotidi, "Ἐρευνα στή Μάνη," *Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* [1979], 181, pl. 126b); the church of the Koimesis in Oxyliothos, Euboia (Emmanouel, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, pl. 77); the church of St. Nicholas in Pyrgos, Euboia (M. Emmanouel, "Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου στὸν Πύργο," *Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 26 [1984–85], 391–420, fig. 9); the church of St. Panteleimon in Bizariano, Crete (M. Borboudakis, K. Gallas, and K. Wessel, *Byzantinisches Kreta* [Munich, 1983], 402–7); the church of the Transfiguration in Kisamou, Crete (*Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 21.2, 2 [1968], fig. 468b); and the exterior of the Anastasis of Christ in Veroia (Gounaris, *The Church of Christ*, 45). Full-length figures of Joachim and Anna are found on the north wall of the cave church of St. John the Baptist near Chrysapha (N. Drandakes, "Ὁ σπηλαιώδης ναός τοῦ Προδρόμου κοντά στή Χρύσαφα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.15 [1989–90], 179–96). A similar meaning was undoubtedly intended by the representation of Elizabeth holding the infant John in the church of St. John in Zoupe-nas, Lakonia (Drandakes, "Ὁ σπηλαιώδης ναός τοῦ Ἀϊ-Γιαννάκη," fig. 17).

⁴¹Pelekanides, *Καστορία*, pl. 38b.

⁴²A. Tsitouridou, *Ὁ ζωγραφικὸς διάκοσμος τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ στή Θεσσαλονίκη* (Thessalonike, 1986), pl. 100.

Akathistos Hymn, an early Byzantine work stressing the divine motherhood of the Virgin Mary.⁴³

Although the cult of Anna (St. Anne) in the medieval West has been closely scrutinized by scholars,⁴⁴ devotion to this figure has not yet been investigated for Byzantium. In the West, Anna was associated with fertility and childbearing, associations based on her miraculous conception of Mary at an advanced age, as described in the *Protoevangelium* of James.⁴⁵ The depiction of the saint in Byzantine art reflects this aspect of the *Protoevangelium* narrative. She is always shown at an advanced age, her face marked by wrinkles. But was Anna specifically connected with childbearing in Byzantium? Both the literary and artistic evidence suggest a tentative “yes.” The Life of St. Thomaïs of Lesbos presents an infertile couple who devote themselves to all-night prayer and fasting in order that a child be given to them. According to the tenth- or eleventh-century Life, “They emulated the supplications of the righteous Anna and Joachim, the parents of the mother of God.”⁴⁶ The mother of Stephen the Younger, who was approaching menopause, prayed to her namesake St. Anna for a son.⁴⁷ The problems of infertility plagued Emperor Leo the Wise, who may have instigated the construction of a chapel dedicated to Anna in the apartments of the empress in order to reverse his fortunes.⁴⁸ Such a purpose may have been intended for the chapel at Hagios Stephanos, where the array of images of Anna focused the prayers of Kastorian women seeking fertility and healthy childbirth. The inclusion of an image of Anna holding the infant Mary, found in numerous churches, possibly reflected a deep devotion to this figure in Byzantium by a particular population with a specialized need.

WOMEN, FEMALE SAINTS, AND THE CHURCH NARTHEX

In monastic churches and cathedrals, the narthex was the setting for numerous services, including certain hourly liturgies,⁴⁹ the washing of the feet on Holy Thursday,⁵⁰

⁴³C. A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna, 1968), 17–39.

⁴⁴See *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn (Athens, Ga.-London, 1990).

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 2, 48.

⁴⁶“Life of St. Thomaïs of Lesbos,” trans. P. Halsall, in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints’ Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot, Byzantine Saints’ Lives in Translation 1 (Washington, D.C., 1996), 301.

⁴⁷In the text, Anna, the mother of St. Stephen, compares herself to a number of biblical women who had difficulties in conceiving: Θεωρήσασα δὲ ἡ τούτων πανευσεβῆς μήτηρ λοιπὸν τὸν χρόνον προσρέοντα καὶ τὰ γυναικῶν πρὸς στειρώσιν αὐτῆς ἐγγίζοντα, ἥσχαλλεν καὶ ἐδυσφόρει παιδίον ἄρρεν οὐκ ἔχουσα. Ἀδιστάκτῳ δὲ πίστει φερομένη αὕτη, καὶ ἀναλογισαμένη τὴν τε Σάραν, καὶ Ἄνναν, καὶ Ἑλισάβετ, καὶ τὸ Γραφικὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐν νῷ λαβοῦσα ὅτι, Ὁ ζητῶν εὐρίσκει, καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται, τὴν ὁμώνυμον Ἄνναν μιμεῖται. Ἄννα γὰρ καὶ ταύτη τὸ ὄνομα. *Life of St. Stephen the Younger*, PG 100, 1076A. I thank Alice-Mary Talbot for this reference.

⁴⁸Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, 37.

⁴⁹Of all of the hourly liturgies, the midnight service (μεσονυχτικόν) is most often celebrated in the narthex. See, for example, the *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople (P. Gautier, “Le Typicon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 [1974], 30–33). The *typikon* of the female monastery of the Virgin Kecharitomenē refers to the use of the narthex for the midnight hours as well as for prime, terce, and sext (P. Gautier, “Le Typicon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménē,” *REB* 43 [1985], 80–82, 86).

⁵⁰For a description of this ceremony in monastic and episcopal contexts, see Gautier, “Kécharitôménē,” 124–27, and J. Mateos, ed., *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, II (Rome, 1963), 73–75. For preliminary discussion of the connections between the scene of the Washing of the Feet in monumental decoration and the Holy Thursday ritual, see S. Tomeković, “Contribution à l’étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XIe–première moitié du XIIIe s.),” *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 140–54, and W. Tronzo, “Mimesis in Byzan-

and the blessing of the waters at the beginning of each month.⁵¹ These ceremonies, particularly the hourly liturgies, required a space that could house those who participated in the rite. The absence of a narthex from many churches of the Byzantine countryside demonstrates that such an additional annex was not required. When a narthex is found in a nonmonastic church, another purpose must be posited for that architectural addition. In both monastic and nonmonastic churches, the narthex often served as a burial chamber.⁵²

I propose an alternative explanation for the role of women in the narthex, based on evidence taken from five nonmonastic churches in which images of female saints appear in that location. Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, decorated in the late twelfth century through the munificence of Theodore Lemniotes and his wife, Anna Radene, was undoubtedly meant as the family burial church. An inscription on the east wall of the narthex clearly refers to Theodore's future burial in that space, where he will find "the ever-dewy grass" (τὴν ἀείδρωσον χλόην) and "a place of the meek" (τόπον τῶν πραέων).⁵³ The narthex is replete with images of full-length female saints: Kyriake, Julitta and her son Kyrikos, Marina slaying Bezelbub, Theodora of Alexandria, Jerusalem flanked by her two sons, Euphemia, Thekla, Anastasia, Eirene, and Constantine and Helena (Fig. 16). Not far from Hagioi Anargyroi, the magistros Nikephoros Kasnitzes and his wife, Anna, built the church of Hagios Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, most likely the burial church for that family. In the narthex are several female saints: on the north wall, Juliane, Barbara, Marina, and an unidentified female saint; and on the south wall, Constantine and Helena, and Photeine (Fig. 17). In the contemporaneous church of Hagios Strategos in the Mani, female saints were depicted in the nave (Sts. Paraskeve, Polychronia, Anastasia of Rome, and Thekla) as well as in the thirteenth-century narthex (Thekla and Kyriake).⁵⁴ This western chamber contains two sarcophagi, one on the north and the other on the south side, and is decorated with a monumental scene of the Last Judgment. From this I infer that the narthex served as a place of burial (Fig. 18). Similarly, four unidentified female saints are located on the east wall of the narthex directly below the Last Judgment in the twelfth-century Maniate church of the Episcopi (Fig. 19).⁵⁵ In the cemetery church of the Koimesis in Oxyliothos, Euboia, Anna, holding the infant Mary, and the orant St. Paraskeve are located on the south wall of the narthex, directly below the scene of the Last Judgment (Fig. 20).⁵⁶ The dedication of the church to the Koimesis and the eschatological content of the narthex program reflect the use of this chamber for burial.

The depiction of female saints in the narthex is intimately linked to the ritual use of

tium: Notes toward a History of the Function of the Image," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 25 (Spring 1994), 61–76.

⁵¹ See S. Gerstel, "Ritual Swimming and the Feast of the Epiphany," *BSCAbstr* 21 (New York, 1995), 78.

⁵² On burial in the church narthex, see E. A. Ivison, "Mortuary Practices in Byzantium (c. 950–1453): An Archaeological Contribution" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 1993); N. Laskaris, "Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens (et byzantins) de la Grèce" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris I, 1991); A. Papageorgiou, "The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus," in *Rayonnement grec: Hommage à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels, 1982), 437–48; N. Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places in Cappadocian Churches," *GOTR* 29.2 (1984), 141–57.

⁵³ Orlandos, "Οἱ Ἁγ. Ἀνάργυροι," 35.

⁵⁴ Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 392–466.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 174, 205, fig. 53.

⁵⁶ Emmanouel, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, 147–49, pl. 77.

that space. Sts. Paraskeve, Kyriake, Anastasia, and Eirene are often located in the narthex or in cemetery churches without nartheces. These are all saints who, in addition to being exempla through their holy lives, bear Greek names that translate into words associated with death and resurrection. Sts. Paraskeve and Kyriake were associated with Holy Friday and the Sunday of Resurrection.⁵⁷ Indeed, a conflation of the second-century St. Paraskeve and the allegorical figure of Holy Friday was made in the ninth-century illustrated Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Paris gr. 510), where images of Paraskeve, holding the instruments of the Passion, and Helena with the rock of Golgotha accompany Gregory's second Oration for Easter.⁵⁸ The remaining saints represent the entire spectrum of Byzantine women: mothers, virgins, princesses, healers. Their presence may allude to the role of women in rituals surrounding death and commemoration.

As evidence of the connection between images of female saints and burials in the Byzantine church, one might consider the fact that in churches with no narthex, female saints are often featured on the piers flanking tombs built into the arched recesses of the naos walls. The carved screen in front of a burial niche in Hagios Georgios, Geraki, is well known to scholars who study the Crusader period in the Morea.⁵⁹ Less well known are the images of unidentified female saints within that niche. In the church of St. Theodore, Tsopaka, in the Mani, paired female saints adorn the piers flanking recessed arches that might have served as arcosolia.⁶⁰ This pattern is repeated in numerous burial churches where female saints, placed on the curved soffits of the arches above tombs, literally watched over the deceased.

The involvement of women in the preparation, mourning, and commemoration of the dead is well known from ancient times. Their role continued in Byzantium, as attested in written and artistic sources.⁶¹ Byzantine saints' lives demonstrate that women comprised the chief mourners over the dead in an elaborate ritual of sustained grieving and lamentation. The Life of Mary the Younger (d. 902/3) describes the death of the saint as follows: "When the distinguished women of the city learned of her imminent death, they all came, and she, having seen them for a short while, at last said: 'Lo the

⁵⁷The two saints are depicted in the following churches: Hagios Strategos, Upper Boularioi, Mani; Hagioi Anargyroi and Theodote, Kepoula, Mani; Sts. Theodoroi near Kaphione, Mani; St. Demetrios, Krokees, Lakonia; Panagia stes Yiallous, Naxos; St. George Bardas, Rhodes; St. John Chrysostom, Geraki; and St. Nicholas, Pakia, Molaous. For the representation of St. Kyriake, see S. Gabelić, "St. Kyriaki in Wallpainting in Cyprus," *Archaeologia Cypria* 1 (1985), 115–19.

⁵⁸The conflation of the 2nd-century martyr Paraskeve (*Synaxarium CP*, 843) with Holy Friday seems to take place in the middle Byzantine period. For the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen (Paris. gr. 510, fol. 285), see H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), pl. XLIII; S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus: Paris gr. 510; A Study of the Connections between Text and Images," *DOP* 16 (1962), 201–2, pl. 3.

⁵⁹A. Wace, "Laconia, V: Frankish Sculptures at Parori and Geraki," *BSA* 11 (1904–5), 144, fig. 4. A painted inscription within the arcosolium may indicate the use of this space for burial and the purpose of the images for intercession on behalf of the deceased: Σεβαστὸς τζαούσιος Ἰσ(α)άκιος ἐκ πόθου, μάρτις, τὴν σὴν ἀνηστ[ό]ρησε πάνσεπ[τ]. . . . με[ν]σίτη[ν] σ[τ]ε πρὸς τ(ὸν) δεσπότην προβαλόμενος, Γεώργ[ι]ε μάκαρ. For an analysis of the inscription, see Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires en vue," 345–46, pl. xxvii, 1–2.

⁶⁰Drandakes, Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες, 29–53.

⁶¹Margaret Alexiou cites frequent condemnations by church officials as evidence that ritual lamentation was widespread in early Byzantium. M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (New York-London, 1974), 27–28.

heavens are opening, and I see an ineffable light and a suspended crown.' And she departed with these words. Then there broke forth great weeping and wailing, raised by both her husband and the women. When the lament quieted down, they prepared the funeral bath."⁶² The mid-fourteenth-century "Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor" suggests what the rich will lose as they forfeit their gold: "There will be no struggle between the different churches for our burial, no splendid and beautiful graves will receive us. . . . There would be no relatives wailing, in tears, beating their breasts, no lamentations and dirges from mourning women, no respect expressed by these actions."⁶³ Could the placement of images of female saints in close proximity to the dead allude to the actual place of women as chief mourners? Are the saints, in other words, surrogates for actual women?

In the art of late Byzantium, the inclusion of large groups of lamenting women in the scene of the Lamentation has often been taken as a reflection of actual mourning practices in late Byzantium.⁶⁴ The connection between women and the ritual lament, in a modern context, has been of special interest to social anthropologists. Studies carried out in traditional Orthodox villages suggest that it is women who celebrate the ritual of lamentation. Anthropological analysis may serve as a paradigm by which to understand the Byzantine process of mourning. Writing about such rituals in the present-day Mani, Nadia Serematakis has noted:

The gender-based organization of the mortuary rite is expressed in the women's proximity to the dead. From the laying out of the corpse, through the burial ceremony, and years later at the exhumation of the bones, women remain in close physical contact with the corpse and its remains—entities that men refrain from coming into close contact with. The corpse is caressed and kissed by the women in ceremonies of ritual greeting as they enter the house of the dead where the mourning will take place. Through the order of mourning song performance, and in the intensity of their cathartic gestures such as the pulling out of hair and self-inflicted wounds, women signify their proximity to the dead and their intimacy with the domain of Death. In this synthesis of authentic personal pain and patterned performance, the women both establish the intensity of their kinship and symbolic relation to the dead and ritually demarcate a woman's symbolic space and performative territory from which men keep their distance.⁶⁵

⁶²"Life, Deeds, and Partial Account of the Miracles of the Blessed and Celebrated Mary the Younger," trans. A. Laiou, in Talbot, *Holy Women* (as above, note 46), 266.

⁶³I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and His 'Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor,'" *ZRVI* 6 (1960), 227.

⁶⁴This connection was made by Henry Maguire in "Women Mourners in Byzantine Art, Literature, and Society," a paper delivered at the International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Moscow, 1991. See also H. Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *DOP* 31 (1977), 126–32. For the inclusion of mourning women in the scene of the Lamentation, see also I. Spatharakis, "The Influence of the Lithos in the Development of the Iconography of the Threnos," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 435–41, with collected bibliography.

⁶⁵C. Nadia Serematakis, "Women and Death: Cultural Power and Ritual Process in Inner Mani," *Canadian Woman Studies* 8.2 (1987), 109. See also eadem, *The Last Word: Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani* (Chicago-London, 1991); eadem, "The Eye of the Other: Watching Death in Rural Greece," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 1 (April 1984), 71–72; A. Caraveli, "The Bitter Wounding: The Lament as Social Protest in Rural Greece," in *Gender and Power in Rural Greece*, ed. J. Dubisch (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 169–94; L. Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*.

Byzantine sources tell us that a procession carried the deceased from his house to the church. The deceased, if a layman, was placed in the narthex for the funeral.⁶⁶ The low benches in many nartheces may have facilitated the long vigils over the remains.⁶⁷ In addition to the actual funeral, the cathartic process of healing in the Orthodox church required that commemoration of the deceased take place on the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth days after death and on the first anniversary.⁶⁸ These commemorations took place in the church, where memorial services were incorporated into the regular services held in the building. Through burial in the church, the perpetual blessings of these commemorative services were guaranteed. For the deceased, the commemoration of his or her soul was aimed at securing a place in heaven. The construction of a church or the refurbishing or repainting of that monument was intended to tip the scales in favor of the donor. By placing images of women on the walls of the narthex and in other funerary contexts within the church, the donor guaranteed continuous intercessory protection through the female saints who participated in the ongoing lamentation over the deceased. Just as painted bishops perpetually celebrated the eucharistic liturgy in the church sanctuary, female saints such as Paraskeve, Kyriake, and Thekla, painted on the walls of the narthex or in other funerary contexts, eternally watched over the bodies buried at their feet.

CONCLUSION

Careful scrutiny of monumental programs suggests that female saints were depicted in the space physically occupied by women in the Byzantine church. The absence of such portraits in male monasteries agrees with evidence provided by written sources regarding the admission of women to these institutions. But in metropolitan churches, women formed an important component of the congregation. Portraits of female saints are located on a single side of the nave, analogous to the position of actual women, as attested in surviving documents. By far the greatest amount of evidence for the religious space occupied by Byzantine women may be gathered from small churches in towns and rural areas. Here the presence of painted female saints, comparable in size and dress to their living counterparts, is so palpable that a direct relationship between image and viewer can be assumed.⁶⁹ Such a relationship has been demonstrated through the marking of certain images of female saints with the names of Byzantine women and their families, facilitating a direct correspondence between actual women and their depicted name saints.

⁶⁶For the placement of the remains in the narthex, see F. Bache, "La fonction funéraire du narthex dans les églises byzantines du XIIe au XIVe siècle," *Histoire de l'art* 7 (1989), 28; P. de Meester, *Studi di rito bizantino alla luce della teologia, del diritto ecclesiastico, della storia, dell'arte e dell'archeologia*, II (Rome, 1930), 84; J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960), 451; V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino* (Jerusalem, 1972), 103.

⁶⁷Benches are preserved, for example, in Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria.

⁶⁸For rituals associated with death, see Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacro Ordine Sepulturae*, PG 155: 669–96; D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *GOTR* 29.2 (1984), 125–34; J. Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs: Care of the Deceased from Death to Prothesis," *GOTR* 19.1 (1974), 37–72; Ph. Koukoules, "Βυζαντινῶν Νεκρικὰ Ἔθιμα," *Επ. Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 16 (1940), 3–80.

⁶⁹For a comparable analysis of concelebrating saints in the Byzantine sanctuary, see S. Gerstel, "Liturgical Scrolls in the Byzantine Sanctuary," *GRBS* 35.2 (1994), 195–204.

Images of male saints participated in the official rituals of the Byzantine church through their placement, stance, and actions, whether as military guardians of the doorways, as healers displaying their medical instruments, or as bishops unfurling liturgical scrolls in prayer. Women had little official role in the medieval Byzantine church. Portraits of female saints in the church naos may simply indicate the presence of female worshipers in that space. But images of female saints also occur in spaces in which actual women may have had an unofficial role in the life of the church. In chapels and in segregated spaces of the church, the presence of female saints may indicate that women had their own devotional paths to achieve fertility, bear healthy children, or attain spiritual healing. Such unofficial female devotional practices may have been excluded from the main part of the church and placed in subsidiary spaces that could accommodate rites that were compatible with church teachings, though not sanctioned by official liturgy. Such was the place, for example, of women in the commemoration of the deceased. Condemnations in Byzantine texts concerning the emotional role of women in the lamentation of the dead confirm that such practices were widespread. The placement of images of female saints in close proximity to the dead, whether in the church narthex or flanking arcosolia, suggests that Byzantine monumental decoration responded to the important role of female vigil and female lamentation in the eternal life of the deceased. The depiction of female saints in Byzantine monumental programs provides an important source for the study of women of the medieval East and ritual patterns in Byzantium. By considering new evidence, we obtain a clearer picture of the response of painting to practice. The participation of women in the life of the church, often unclear in textual description, is richly portrayed on the church walls through the presence of female saints and the painted decoration of ritual spaces used by women.

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Appendix: Chronological List of Select Churches in
Greece Containing Representations of Female Saints (with
references to publications with images of the saints)

Eleventh Century

Hosios Loukas, Phokis, male monastery (narthex, west wall)

South side: Thekla, Agatha, Anastasia, Febronia, Eugenia, Constantine and Helena

North side: Eirene, Catherine, Barbara, Euphemia, Marina, Juliana

(R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis, and the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, near Skripou, in Boeotia* [London, 1901], pls. 36, 37)

Panagia ton Chalkeon, Thessalonike, 1028, burial church (naos, north wall)

Three female figures including Eirene in zone below window

(D. E. Evangelidi, 'Η Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων [Thessalonike, 1954], 62, pl. 27)

Hagios Merkourios, Kerkyra, 1074–75 (naos, west end of north wall)

Marina with hatchet

(P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Fresques du XIe siècle à Corfou," *CahArch* 21 [1971], 151–80, figs. 13, 14)

Metamorphosis, near Koropi, Attica, late 10th/early 11th century

Anna and infant Mary, unidentified female saint

(M. Chatzidakis, "Medieval Painting in Greece," *Connoisseur* 603 [May 1962], 29–34)

Hagia Sophia, Thessalonike, 11th century(?), metropolitan church (narthex, north entrance)

Theodora of Thessalonike(?), Theodora of Alexandria, two unidentified female monastics

(K. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* [Pretoria, 1982], 159–60, fig. 103)

Twelfth Century

Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria, ca. 1180, family church (narthex)

West wall: Kyriake, Julitta/Kyrikos, Marina, Theodora, Jerusalem, Euphemia, Thekla, Anastasia

East wall: Anna and infant Mary, Eirene

(S. Pelekanides, *Καστοριά, Ι* [Thessalonike, 1953], pls. 38b, 40)

Hagios Nicholas tou Kasnitzi, Kastoria, ca. 1180, family church (narthex, north and south walls)

- Marina, Barbara, Juliane, unidentified female saint, Constantine and Helena, Photeine
(Pelekanides, *Καστορία*, pl. 55b)
- Theotokos (Parthenon), Athens, 12th century, metropolitan church (naos, north wall)
Two princess saints (Catherine?), female martyr
(A. Xyngopoulos, “Παρθενῶνος βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία,” *Ἀρχ.Ἐφ.* [1920], 36–51, figs. 11, 13)
- Protothronos, Naxos, 12th century (naos, above conch)
Eirene(?)
(*Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 26.2, 2 [1971], 474, pl. 492a)
- Evangelistria, Geraki, late 12th century (naos, southwest compartment)
Catherine, two unidentified female saints
(N. K. Moutsopoulos and G. Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι. Οἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ* [Thessalonike, 1981], figs. 154, 155, 157, 164)
- Hagios Strategos, Upper Boularioi, Mani, late 12th century (naos), 13th century (narthex), burial church
West wall of naos: Polychronia, Paraskeve, Anastasia the Roman, Thekla
West wall of narthex: Thekla, Kyriake
(N. Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες τῆς Μέσα Μάνης* [Athens, 1995], 392–466, figs. 23, 35, 36, 39, 65, 66, 75)
- Episcopi, Mani, late 12th century, burial church(?) (narthex, east wall)
Four unidentified female saints
(Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 151–212, figs. 27, 28, 53, 60)
- St. Demetrios, Servia, late 12th/early 13th century, metropolitan church (naos, north and west walls)
Cosmas/Theodote/Damian, Paraskeve, Barbara
(A. Xyngopoulos, *Τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Σερβίων* [Athens, 1957], 43–44)
- Episcopi, Eurytania, 12th–13th century (formerly in naos)
Cosmas/Theodote/Damian
(*Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 21.2, 1 [1966], 28–29, pls. 31, 32)

Thirteenth Century

- Holy Savior, Geraki, ca. 1200 (naos, west wall)
Anastasia the Roman, Julitta
(Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, figs. 331, 332)
- St. Barbara stou Glezou, Mani, ca. 1200 (conches flanking apse)
Barbara, unidentified female saint
(N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,” *Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* [1979], 165)
- Paliomonastiro, near Vrontamas, Lakonia, 1201 (narthex)
Barbara, Marina, Constantine and Helena, Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Paraskeve, Eirene, Thekla, Kyriake, Juliane
(N. Drandakes, “Το Παλιομονάστηρο του Βρονταμά,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 43.1 [1988], 174–78, pls. 82a, 83a, 87)

- St. Peter, Kalyvia-Kouvara, Attica, 1232 (*tribelon*, north wall)
 Cosmas/Damian/Theodote, Marina, Kyriake
 (N. Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, “Ἅγιος Πέτρος Καλυβίων Κουβαρᾶ Ἀττικῆς,” *Δελτ.Χριστ.-Ἀρχ.* Ἐτ. 4.14 [1987–88], 173–87, figs. 20–22)
- Hagia Triada, near Kranidi, Argolid, 1244 (naos, south wall)
 Marina with hatchet, unidentified female martyr
 (S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis (1244)* [Munich, 1975], pls. 25, 26)
- Holy Savior, near Alepochori in Megara, 1260–80, monastery(?) (naos, west wall)
 Paraskeve, Marina
 (D. Mouriki, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Σωτήρα κοντὰ στὸ Ἀλεποχώρι Μεγαρίδος* [Athens, 1978], pls. 62, 63, 69)
- Sts. Sergios and Bacchos, near Kitta, Mani, ca. 1262–85
 Anna and infant Mary
 (Drandakes, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,” 181, pl. 126b)
- Hagioi Anargyroi and Theodote, Kepoula, Mani, 1265, cemetery church(?) (naos)
 South blind arch soffits: Paraskeve, Kyriake
 North wall: Thekla, Catherine, unidentified female saint
 (N. Drandakes, “Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων Κηπούλας (1265),” *Ἀρχ.* Ἐφ. [1980], 97–118, pl. 38; Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 307–39, figs. 23, 34)
- St. Nicholas, near Geraki, Lakonia, ca. 1280–1300 (naos, west end of north wall)
 Sophia, unidentified princess saint
 (A. Giaoure, “Ὁ ναός τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου κοντὰ στὸ Γεράκι,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 32.1 [1977], 91–115, pl. 40b)
- St. Basil stou Kalou, near Males, Mani, ca. 1280–90 (naos, south wall)
 Thekla(?)
 (Drandakes, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,” 158)
- St. Demetrios, Krokees, Lakonia, 1286 (naos)
 West wall: Barbara, Paraskeve
 North wall: Kyriake, Marina
 (N. Drandakes, “Ἀπὸ τίς τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Κροκεῶν (1286),” *Δελτ.Χριστ.-Ἀρχ.* Ἐτ. 4.12 [1984], 203–38)
- Panagia stes Yiallous, Naxos, 1288–89 (naos, north wall)
 Kyriake, Paraskeve
 (N. Drandakes, “Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Νάξου Ἑπαναγία στῆς Γιαλλοῦς” (1288/9),” *Ἐπ.* Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ. 33 [1964], 258–69, figs. 9–11)
- St. George Bardas, Rhodes, 1289–90 (naos)
 South wall: Paraskeve, Barbara, Eirene, Kyriake
 West wall: Marina
 (A. K. Orlandos, “Ἅγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Βάρδας,” *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.* Ἑλλ. 6 [1948], 114–42, figs. 114–16)
- Panagia Chrysaphitissa, Chrysapha, Lakonia, 1290 (naos, western compartments/narthex)
 Northwest compartment: Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Kyriake, Eirene, Barbara, Constantine and Helena (below women at tomb)

- Southwest compartment: Julitta
 Narthex, niche in east wall: Paraskeve (16th century?)
 (J. Albani, "Byzantinische Freskomalerei in der Kirche Panagia Chrysaphitissa," *JÖB* 38 [1988], 363–88, fig. 25; N. Drandakes, "Παναγία ἡ Χρυσσαφίτισσα [1290]," *Πρακτικά Α' τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Λακωνικῶν Μελετῶν* [Athens, 1983], 337–403, figs. 35, 36)
- Cave of John the Baptist, near Chrysapha, Lakonia, 1290/1 (naos)
 North wall: Catherine(?), Marina, princess saint, unidentified female saint, Joachim and Anna
 South wall: Cosmas/Theodote/Damian, Elizabeth, Mary of Egypt
 (N. Drandakes, "Ὁ σπηλαιώδης ναὸς τοῦ Προδρόμου κοντὰ στὴ Χρύσαφα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.15 [1989–90], 179–96, figs. 4, 14)
- Transfiguration, Pyrgi, Euboia, 1296 (naos)
 West wall: Anna and infant Mary
 East wall, next to sanctuary: Kalliope
 (M. Georgopoulou-Berra, "Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 13ου αἰῶνα στὴν Εὐβοία: Ὁ Σωτήρας στὸ Πυργί καὶ ἡ Ἀγία Θέκλα," *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 32.1 [1977], 9–38, pls. 7b, 14b)
- St. John Chrysostom, Geraki, ca. 1300, cemetery (naos, medallions)
 North wall: Thekla, Dorothea, Gregoria, Kyriake, Paraskeve, Eirene, Helena, Catherine, Barbara, Juliana
 South wall: Cosmas/Theodote/Damian
 (Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, 16–18)
- St. Peter, Gardenitsa, Mani, early 13th century (naos)
 West end of north wall, medallions: Kyriake, Kalliste, Eirene
 North apse, conch: Paraskeve (Michael in south apse)
 (Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 259–306, figs. 6, 41)
- Chapel of the Virgin, Merenda, Attica, mid-13th century
 Two unidentified female saints
 (N. Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Mérenta: Deux monuments du XIIIe siècle en Attique* [Thessalonike, 1976], pl. 84)
- St. Theodore, Tsopaka, Mani, late 13th century (naos)
 North wall, blind arch: Kyriake, Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Anastasia the Roman
 South wall, blind arch: Martyrdom of Anastasia Pharmakolytria
 Soffits, south wall, arches: Julitta, unidentified female saint, Paraskeve, Barbara, Theodote, Juliane, three medallions of holy women
 (N. Drandakes, "Ὁ Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος στὸν Τσόπακα τῆς Μάνης," *Πελοποννησιακά* 16 [1985–86], 241–55; Drandakes, *Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες*, 29–53, figs. 16, 17, 19)
- St. Nicholas, near Monemvasia, late 13th century (narthex)
 Unidentified female saint
 (N. Drandakes, "Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου στὸν Ἅγιο Νικόλαο Μονεμβασίας," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ.* 4.9 [1979], 35–58)
- St. Nicholas, Pakia, Molaoi, Lakonia, late 13th century (naos)
 Standing: Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Euphemia, Anastasia the Roman
 North wall, medallions: Paraskeve, Kyriake, Eirene, Catherine
 South wall, medallions: Eulaleia, Sophia, Marina, Barbara, Pelagia
 (S. Koukiare, "Δύο Βυζαντινοὶ ναοὶ στὰ Πάκια Λακωνίας," *Λακ.Σπ.* 10 [1990], 166–89)

- St. Demetrios, Mystra, Lakonia, late 13th century (north aisle of basilica)
 Eudokia(?), three unidentified female saints
 (S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* [Paris, 1970], 5–8, fig. 9)
- Cave of the Forty Martyrs, Grammoussa, Lakonia, end of 13th century
 Anna
 (Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 35.2, 1 [1980], 166, pl. 68a)
- St. John, Zoupenas, Lakonia, end of 13th century (cave church near Geraki)
 Elizabeth and infant John, Catherine, Kyriake
 (N. Drandakes, “Ο σπηλαιώδης ναός τοῦ Ἀϊ-Γιαννάκη στή Ζούπενα,” Δελτ.Χριστ.-Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. 4.13 [1985–86], 79–92, figs. 17, 22)
- Church of the Ascension, Philiatra, Messenia, 13th-century layer (naos, north wall)
 Anna(?)
 (Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 36.2, 1 [1981], 141, pl. 78b)
- Cave Chapel of St. Sophia, Kythera, 13th century (iconostasis)
 Sophia and daughters Agape, Elpis, and Pistis
 (M. Chatzidakis and I. Mpitha, *Corpus de la peinture monumentale byzantine de la Grèce: L'île de Cythère* [Athens, 1997], 292–97)
- St. Nicholas stes Maroulainas, Kastania, Mani, 13th century (naos, west wall)
 Barbara, unidentified female saint
 (N. Drandakes, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στή Μεσσηνιακὴ Μάνη,” Πρακτ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. [1980], 193–94)
- St. Panteleimon, Bizariano, Crete, 13th century (naos, north wall)
 Anna and infant Mary
 (M. Borboudakis, K. Gallas, and K. Wessel, *Byzantinisches Kreta* [Munich, 1983], 407–8)
- St. John the Theologian st'Adesaourou, Naxos, 13th-century layer
 Marina(?)
 (Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 35.2, 2 [1980], 491–92, pl. 295a)
- St. John the Theologian, near Kranidi, Argolid, 13th century (naos, north wall)
 Anna and infant Mary
 (N. Panselinou, “Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ 13ου αἰώνα στήν Ἀργολίδα· Ὁ ναός τῶν Ταξιαρχῶν καί ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος,” Δελτ.Χριστ.-Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. 4.16 [1991–92], 155–66, figs. 9, 10; Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 22.2, 1 [1967], 23, pl. 30a)
- St. George, Mina, Mani, 13th century (naos, south wall)
 Melania the Roman, unidentified female saint
 (Drandakes, Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες, 133–37, fig. 4)
- Omorphi Ekklesia, Galatsi, Athens, 13th century (*diakonikon*)
 Glykeria
 (A. Vasilake-Karakatsane, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς στήν Ἀθήνα [Athens, 1971], 11, 15, pl. 18b)
- Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, chapel of St. Anna, 13th century (upper chapel)
 Anna Galaktotrophousa, Anna and infant Mary, female saint with two sons
 (N. K. Moutsopoulos, Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Καστοριάς 9ος–11ος αἰώνας [Thessalonike, 1992], 203–5, figs. 207, 214)

- St. Thekla, Euboia, end of 13th century, cemetery church (naos, south wall)
 Julitta and Kyrikos
 (Georgopoulou-Berra, "Τοιχογραφίες τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 13ου αἰώνα στήν Εὐβοία," 9–38, pl. 20; G. Demetrokalles, "Ο βυζαντινός ναός τῆς Ἀγίας Θέκλας Εὐβοίας," *Τεχνικά Χρονικά* 227 [1963], 52)
- St. Panteleimon, Upper Boularioi, Mani, 13th–14th century (naos, south wall)
 Kyriake
 (N. Drandakes, "Ἅγιος Παντελεήμων Μπουλαριῶν," *Ἐπ. Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 37 [1969–70], 437–58, figs. 19, 20; Drandakes, βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες, 390–91, figs. 27, 28)
- St. Marina, Voutama, Lakonia, 13th–14th century (naos)
 North wall: Marina
 South wall: Eirene
 (N. Drandakes et al., "Ἐρευνα στήν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά," *Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* [1982], 405)

Fourteenth Century

- St. Nicholas, Agoriane, Lakonia, ca. 1300 (naos, west end of north wall)
 Eirene(?), unidentified female saint, Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Barbara
 (M. Emmanouel, "Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου στήν Ἀγόριανη Λακωνίας," *Δελτ.Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 4.14 [1987–88], fig. 37)
- St. Niketas, Karavas, Mani, ca. 1300 (narthex, north wall)
 Kyriake(?)
 (N. Gioles, "Ο ναός τοῦ Ἀγ. Νικήτα στὸν Καραβᾶ Μέσα Μάνης," *Λακ.Σπ.* [1983], 178, pl. 11a)
- St. Marina, Mournes, Crete, ca. 1300–1320 (naos)
 Life cycle of Marina
 (J. Albani, "Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρίας στὸν Μουρνέ τῆς Κρήτης. Ἕνας ἄγνωστος βιογραφικός κύκλος τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας," *Δελτ.Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐτ.* 4.12 [1993–94], 211–22)
- St. Demetrios, Makrochori, Euboia, 1302–3 (naos)
 South wall: Eirene
 West wall, south side: Marina with hatchet
 (M. Emmanouel, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου στὸ Μακρυχώρι καὶ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου στὸν Ὁξύλιθο τῆς Εὐβοίας* [Athens, 1991], pls. 32, 34, 35)
- Anastasis of Christ, Veroia, ca. 1315 (naos)
 West end of north wall: Catherine, Eirene
 South exterior: Anna and infant Mary (late 13th century)
 (G. Gounaris, *The Church of Christ in Veria* [Thessalonike, 1991], pls. 41, 48; S. Pelekanides, *Καλλιέργης, ὅλης Θεσσαλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος* [Athens, 1973], 87–90, pl. 81)
- Savior, Kisamou, Crete, 1320 (south wall)
 Anna and infant Mary
 (*Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 21.2, 2 [1966], 431, pl. 468b)
- Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike, ca. 1320
 North aisle of ambulatory: Anna and infant Mary, Catherine, Eirene
 North end of west nave wall: Theodote/Cosmas/Damian

- (A. Tsitouridou, 'Ο ζωγραφικὸς διάκοσμος τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη [Thessalonike, 1986], pls. 98, 100, 101)
- Chapel of the Archangels, Desphina, 1332 (naos, west wall)
Paraskeve
(M. Soteriou, "Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναυδρίου τῶν Ταξιαρχῶν Δεσφίνης," Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. 4.3 [1962–63], 175–202, pl. 58)
- St. Nicholas, Platsa, Mani, 1337/8, 1343/4, 1348/9
Central nave, north wall: two unidentified women, Menodora, Oraiozele
South aisle: Julitta(?), Charitine, Anysia, Pelagia
(D. Mouriki, Οἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου στὴν Πλάτσα τῆς Μάνης [Athens, 1975], pl. 90)
- Hagia Sophia, Langada, Mani, early 14th century (south wall)
Two unidentified female saints
(Ch. Constantinide, "Ὁ ναὸς τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας στὴ Λαγκάδα τῆς Ἑξῶ Μάνης," Λακ.Σπ. 6 [1982], 80–124)
- St. Nicholas Polemitas, Mani, 14th century (naos)
South wall, arch: Nonna, Barbara
North wall, blind arch: Kyriake (next to St. George)
North wall, arch: Kallinike, Anastasia, Thekla
(Drandakes, Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίαι, 138–50, figs. 8–12)
- Koimesis, Oxyolithos, Euboia, cemetery church (narthex)
Anna and infant Mary, Paraskeve(?)
(Emmanouel, Οἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου, pl. 77)
- St. Zacharias, Phoiniki, Chalkis, 14th century
Unidentified female saint
(A. Katsiote, "Οἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Ἀγίου Ζαχαρία στο Φοινίκι τῆς Χάλκης," Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 40.1 [1985], 229–41, pl. 112a)
- Panagia Arkoulitissa, Naxos, 14th century (east wall of conch)
Unidentified female saint
(Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 26.2, 2 [1971], 473, pl. 488a)
- St. Nicholas, Penteli Cave, 14th century(?), burial church (templon)
Catherine
(Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 28.2, 1 [1973], 68, pl. 51; D. Mouriki, "Οἱ βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίαι τῶν παρεκκλησίων τῆς Σπηλιᾶς τῆς Πεντέλης," Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. 4.7 [1973–74], 79–115, pls. 28, 29)
- Panagia Kalomoiron, Rodovaniou Selinou, Crete, 14th century
Photeine
(Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 25.2, 2 [1970], 490, pl. 425b)
- St. George, Phoutia, late 14th century, cemetery church (north wall)
Two unidentified female saints, Barbara, Kyriake
(V. Kepetzi, "Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου στὰ Φούτια τῆς Ἐπιδάουρου Λιμηράς," ANTI-ΦΩΝΟΝ: Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Ν. Β. Δρανδάκη [Thessalonike, 1994], 508–30)
- Fifteenth Century
- St. Eustratios, Pharaklos, Lakonia, 15th century (naos, south wall)
Sophia, Thekla

- (N. Drandakes et al., “Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμηρά,” Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. [1982], 436, pl. 244b)
- Aï-Sideros, Pyrgos, Mani, Lakonia, early 15th century (naos, north and south walls)
Paraskeve, Eirene
(Drandakes, Kalopissi, and Panayotidi, “Ἐρευνα στὴ Μάνη,” 176, pl. 123c)
- Holy Apostles Kavvousiou, Ierapetras, Crete, 15th century, cemetery church
Eirene, Sophia, unidentified saints
(Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 25.2, 2 [1970], 495, pl. 429a)
- St. Nicholas, Briki, Mani, second quarter of 15th century (naos, adjacent to sanctuary)
Kallinike
(Drandakes, Βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες, 112–21)
- St. Nicholas, Kastania, Mani, second quarter of 15th century (naos, north and south walls)
Marina, Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Paraskeve, two unidentified female saints
(N. Drandakes, “Ἐρευνα εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνιακὴν Μάνην,” Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. [1976], 228, pl. 162d)